

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-10 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NASA-01 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01
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/168 W

-----129194 081247Z /47

R 081149Z AUG 78
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8893
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USMISSION USNATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 12600

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PARM UK UN
SUBJECT: NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE: 1980

REF: LONDON 11622 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY. PRELIMINARY MID-LEVEL FCO THINKING ON NPT
REVIEW CONFERENCE IN 1980 (NPTRC II) SUGGESTS: REVIEW
CONFERENCE WILL LOOK BEYOND TREATY TO WIDER ISSUES OF
NON-PROLIFERATION AND NUCLEAR TRANSFERS; UNGA THIS FALL
SHOULD ESTABLISH PREPARATORY COMMITTEE BASED ON 1973
PRECEDENT; IN MEANTIME, ADDITIONAL STATES SHOULD BE
ENCOURAGED TO ADHERE TO NPT. END SUMMARY.

1. AS FORESHADOWED REFTTEL, WORKING LEVEL AT FCO HAS PU
TOGETHER SOME PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS ON SECOND NPT REVIEW
CONFERENCE SCHEDULED FOR 1980. MALLABY, HEAD OF FCO'S
ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT DEPT, CONVEYED FOLLOWING
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POINTS DURING DISCUSSION WITH EMBOFF AUG 4, PARTLY IN
HOPES OF STIMULATING USG THINKING IN RETURN.

2. IN GENERAL, BRITISH EXPECT THAT IN LIGHT OF GROWING
OPPOSITION TO TREATY FROM KEY NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATE
(NNWS) WHICH WAS EVIDENT AT UNSSOD, THERE WILL BE
"DIFFICULTIES AND CONTROVERSY," EVEN THOUGH MOST MILI-

TANT NNWS (INDIA, PAKISTAN) ARE NOT NPT PARTIES.

3. NPTRC AT 33RD UNGA. BRITISH PROPOSE TO FOLLOW PRECEDENT OF DEC 1973 UNGA RESOLUTION THAT POINTED WAY TO 1975 REVIEW CONFERENCE. THUS 1978 UNGA RESOLUTION SHOULD BE SHORT, NON-CONTROVERSIAL, AND ESTABLISH PREPCOM (AFTER APPROPRIATE CONSULTATIONS) MADE UP OF NPT PARTIES ON IAEA BOARD OF GOVERNORS AND COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT (CD). BRITISH WILL WISH TO TAKE FURTHER SOUNDINGS ON PROPOSED PREPCOM'S ACTUAL COMPOSITION, CHAIRMAN, AND DATES OF MEETINGS, AS WELL AS ON DATES AND CHAIRMAN OF NPTRC II ITSELF.

4. NPT ADHERENCE. BETWEEN NOW AND 1980 CONFERENCE, BRITISH HOPE EFFORTS TO GAIN ADDITIONAL NPT ADHERENTS WILL CONTINUE. FURTHER ACCESSIONS, EVEN IF NOT BY THE MOST IMPORTANT NON-PARTIES, WILL DEMONSTRATE UTILITY OF THE NPT AND MIGHT TEND TO INCREASE THE PRESSURE ON HOLDOUTS. STATES WHICH MIGHT BE LOBBIED IN THIS CONNECTION ARE TURKEY, INDONESIA, SRI LANKA, OMAN, UAE, AND BAHRAIN. AFTER THIS LIST IS FURTHER REFINED, FCO WILL WANT TO CONSIDER WITH U.S. HOW SUCH LOBBYING EFFORT MIGHT BE SHARED BY OR COORDINATED WITH USG AND WHETHER SOVIETS MIGHT BE ENCOURAGED TO PLAY USEFUL ROLE.

5. NPTRC II: TIMING FACTORS. BRITISH OBSERVE RENEGO-CONFIDENTIAL

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TIATION OF U.S. BILATERAL AGREEMENTS WITH RECIPIENT COUNTRIES IS DUE TO BE COMPLETED BY LATE 1979, AND WONDER IF THIS IS LIKELY TO AFFECT ATMOSPHERE OF 1980 REVIEW CONFERENCE. END OF INFCE IN FEB 1980 AND U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN NOV 1980 SUGGEST TO BRITISH THAT NPTRC II MIGHT BEST BE HELD IN MIDDLE OF 1980.

6. POSSIBLE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES AT NPTRC II. FCO OFFICIALS SEE MAJOR ISSUE AT REVIEW CONFERENCE AS WHETHER TO CONCENTRATE ON TREATY ITSELF OR DEVELOP A WIDER DEBATE ON NON-PROLIFERATION AND NUCLEAR TRANSFERS WHILE FCO BELIEVES QUESTION NEEDS FURTHER CONSIDERATION IT ALSO ASSUMES THE LATTER COURSE IS MORE LIKELY AND THEREFORE CONSIDERS THE FOLLOWING AS BASIC ELEMENTS IN UK POLICY REGARDING THE NPTRC II:

(A) TO INSIST ON THE CONTINUED IMPORTANCE OF THE NPT AND IMPROVED SAFEGUARDS, AND THE FAR MORE DANGEROUS SITUATION THAT WOULD EXIST IF THERE WERE NO NPT;

(B) TO ADVOCATE AS APPROPRIATE OTHER MEANS OF ACHIEVING NON-PROLIFERATION GOALS, INCLUDING FULL SCOPE SAFEGUARDS AND NUCLEAR WEAPON FREE ZONES;

(C) THE ARTICLE IV DEBATE: TO INSIST ON THE

PROGRESS MADE TOWARDS NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT, CITING CTB,
SALT, ETC., AS WELL AS THE UK'S NEGATIVE SECURITY
ASSURANCES AND VOLUNTARY ACCEPTANCE OF SAFEGUARDS ON

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CIVIL NUCLEAR INDUSTRY;

(D) THE ARTICLE VI DEBATE: TO PROMOTE DISCUSSION
OF THE RESULTS OF INFCE, INCLUDING, PERHAPS, AN INTER-
NATIONAL REGIME FOR PLUTONIUM MANAGEMENT, MULTINATIONAL
PLANTS, AND AN INTERNATIONAL FUEL TRUST; ALSO, TO
CONSIDER THE CONCEPT OF GUARANTEED ACCESS TO NUCLEAR
MATERIALS FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES, THE EXTENT AND TERMS
OF TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER, AS WELL AS TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE
IN THE IAEA AND OUTSIDE;

(E) ALTHOUGH AN AMENDED NPT COULD BE BETTER THAN
A DESTROYED NPT, THE UK SHOULD RESIST AMENDMENTS, AT
LEAST AS AN OPENING POSITION, SINCE AGREEMENT TO
DISCUSS HARMLESS ONES WOULD PROVOKE THE TABLING OF
HARMFUL ONES;

(F) PNES MAY BE LESS IMPORTANT THAN IN 1975,
ESPECIALLY IF A CTB TREATY HAS BEEN CONCLUDED.

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(G) NPTRCII SHOULD OPERATE BY CONSENSUS, AS IN
1975.

7. COMMENT: THE FCO IS CONVINCED THE FIRST REVIEW
CONFERENCE DEMONSTRATED THAT CLOSE U.S.-UK COOPERATION
DID MUCH TO "LIMIT THE DISCOMFORT" OF THAT OCCASION. IN
SHARING THESE PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS, BRITISH (I.E.,
MALLABY) HOPE TO STIMULATE U.S. CONSULTATIONS ON
NPTRC II IN GENERAL AND HANDLING OF THE RELEVANT AGENDA
ITEM AT 33RD UNGA IN PARTICULAR. EMBASSY WOULD WELCOME
ANY PRELIMINARY WASHINGTON COMMENTS ON FOREGOING THAT
WE COULD SHARE WITH FCO. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE LOOK
FORWARD TO FLOWEREE VISIT PER STATE L98578, JUST
RECEIVED.

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